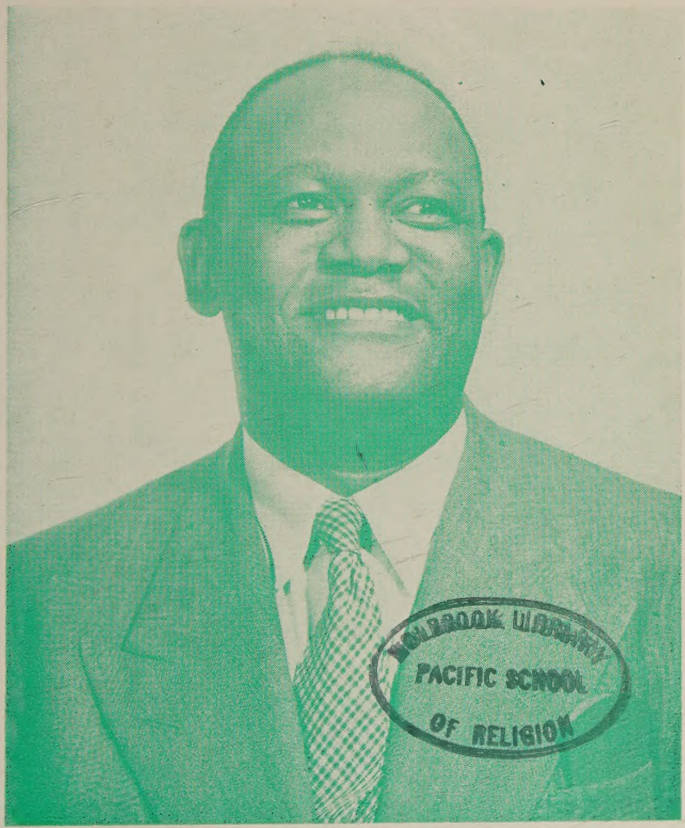
December 1952

Fellowship



Z. K. MATTHEWS *African Leader*

The Road Back, by Alfred Hassler

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ff Not since Mahatma Gandhi's campaigns for India's freedom has the world seen so dramatic a demonstration of revolution by nonviolence as that currently going on in South Africa. Coincidentally with the heated UN debates on the subject, Constance Hamilton brings you up to date in *South Africa Sows the Wind*. . . . Under cover of commenting on the American Friends Service Committee's new pamphlet, "Toward Security Through Disarmament," John Swomley does a compelling analysis of the whole world disorder in *Surface Tension*. . . . Alfred Hassler listens in on the Three Wise Men on *The Road Back*, a story we think will be read in many a church this Christmas.

FELLOWSHIP

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THE ROAD BACK

by Alfred Hassler

THE RIDE HOME was a long one for three elderly gentlemen. Their camels swayed and bumped along the uneven road in the manner of camels everywhere, but one that seemed peculiarly irritating on this journey.

Being wise men, the three did not allow their irritation to express itself in ill temper. Recognizing that they were suffering the inevitable let-down after the climax of a long period of almost breathless expectation, they set themselves deliberately to the cultivation of the quiet conversation in which wise men release their tensions. Melchior, who had been shifting his position every few minutes in search of a softer section of camel, began it.

"Balthasar," he said, "though this cursed beast makes me rue my sparsely covered bones, I do not regret the trip for a moment, do you?"

The man called Balthasar raised

his eyes from a malignant contemplation of his vehicle's front hump.

"I do not," he agreed heavily. "It was momentous. It was—" he searched for a phrase—"it was a mountain-top experience, if I may coin an expression."

"A most felicitous expression!" agreed Melchior eagerly. "It was that indeed."

"*I* shall certainly never forget it," volunteered the third rider a bit pompously. "I can still see the look of utter fulfillment on the woman's face."

"And the wonder on Joseph's countenance!"

"And the shepherds! Did it occur to you," asked Balthasar, "as it did to me, what a portent for the future lay in the confluence of our presence and theirs? I would not wish to be misunderstood—but we with our most precious gifts, and they, humble shepherds with naught save their adoration—I think we must all have felt how equally acceptable they were in the sight of the Most High."

"Aye," said Melchior reverently.

"And this portent of which you speak?" asked Caspar.

"Surely a portent of the true and equal brotherhood of all men!" exclaimed Balthasar enthusiastically.

He looked up to see his companions regarding him quizzically.

"Well?" he challenged. "Did you not sense it yourselves?"

"When you say 'true and equal brotherhood,' " Caspar disregarded the question—"I am not certain exactly what you have in mind. Our gifts and theirs were accepted, yes, but we are still wise men and they are still shepherds, is it not so? As wise men and rulers we have the responsibility to look after our shepherds and workers in kindness, but are we all to become shepherds? In that case, who should rule? Or are all to be wise men, and then who should do the work?"

"To be more explicit—" Melchior turned a large diamond ring thoughtfully among its fellows on his fingers—"consider the economic implications of such 'brotherhood.' We are rich; they are poor. We are powerful; they are weak. I need not say more to a man of such wisdom as you, Balthasar."

Balthasar nodded ruefully.

"I am newly impressed by the profundity of your thinking—both of you," he said. "My own had not gone to such specifics. The brotherhood of which I spoke was more, in my mind, the sense of the equality of men—their essential worthiness—in the sight of the Eternal."

"This by all means," agreed Melchior soberly.

"We are creatures of the One Creator," intoned Caspar.

Silence fell upon them again, but it was the silence of minds in harmony. It was Melchior who broke it for the second time.

"The sense of aura has become so highly developed in you, friend Balthasar, I would know what else you sensed in our visit. Had you any premonition about the Child and His mission?"

"Most certainly," Balthasar replied promptly. "Never have I perceived one emphasis so strongly. The aura was love. Justice was there, too, and righteousness, and sacrifice, but all so permeated by love as to have been changed almost out of recognition by our accustomed definitions."

"Ah," said Melchior vaguely. "Yes, of course. Love. Of course."

"Victory, too, I take it?" suggested Caspar. "The Promised One—the Deliverer—there must have been a strong aura of victory."

"We-ll," Balthasar seemed to grope for the memory, "yes, in a way. Victory, of course, but—like the others—so changed and modified as to be almost unrecognizable in our terms. The love—it altered everything, Caspar. Love in every situation. Love willing to suffer rather than inflict suffering. Love of enemies." He paused, wagged his head. "It was very strong."

"Love of enemies," Melchior repeated doubtfully. "It has a strange sound for One who brings the vengeance of the Most High."

"It is asking much of you, dear Balthasar, I know," said Caspar. "It was, after all, only an impression, but did you—could you—in the light of that impression, see the Deliverer taking the sword to the hated oppressor?"

"*No!*" Balthasar seemed a little surprised at his own vehemence. In a milder voice he continued, "The truth is, Caspar, I could not even see Him taking the sword for his own defense. I can see him refusing to take the sword, in love. I can see him denouncing evil, while loving the evil-doer. I can see him—" his voice faltered a little—"taking evil on himself, without ever retaliating and without ever shutting off his love. That is what I can see."

"I suspect," said Melchior drily, "that your precognitive faculties may not have been at their usual high level, Balthasar."

"You think I am wrong. Why?"

"In the first place," said Melchior, ticking the points off on his jewelled fingers, "this is not the kind of Deliverer we were led to seek. Second, he would rouse no enthusiasm among the people. Third, he would upset the whole accustomed order of things. Finally, it will not work."

"In short," added Caspar, "the sort of thing you have outlined is just not practical."

"In what way?" inquired Balthasar stubbornly.

"Be realistic," urged Caspar goodhumoredly. "When you speak in the kind of generalities you used it doesn't sound so bad. In fact, it has an appeal to something that lies deep inside each of us. It is when you try to apply it to real situations that its essential impracticality shows up."

"Give us an example of the kind of thing you mean, Caspar," urged Melchior.

"Well," Caspar thought rapidly "—almost any ordinary situation would do. Suppose, for example, a man were to walk with his wife down a road and she was suddenly assaulted by a ruffian. What would your man of love do in such a situation?"

"I have a feeling," said Balthasar drily, "that like so many of your pithy formulations, Caspar, that one will not go unrepeated."

Caspar looked at him sharply.

"I do not like you when you become sarcastic, Balthasar," he said. "In any case, and whatever your perceptions may have been, I predict that when He has reached our age he will have modified these ideas substantially."

Melchior looked at them both somberly.

"Only one thing I am sure about," he said. "If He attempts to live in the way our friend Balthasar surmises, he will never reach our age."

He dug his heels viciously into the camel's side.

"Get along, you beast of many bones!" he commanded. "I would not live out the rest of my years on this cursed road!"

(INS)

Some of the thousands of nonviolent volunteers took over a train compartment marked "Europeans only," and rode in it to Cape Town, where thirty-four of them were arrested.

SOUTH AFRICA *Sows the Wind*

by Constance Muste Hamilton

SOUTH AFRICA has been sowing the wind for some time now.

Africa is the last large section where colonialism still holds, where a tiny group of whites, backed by the looming might of Great Britain, or France, or some other European nation, still dominates the millions who are native to the countries they rule. Two and a half million white Europeans are the masters of twenty million black and colored Africans and Indians who, after chafing for years under the humiliation and injustice of their domination, have determined on a campaign of deliberate violation of the laws that bind them down into slavery.

The people of South Africa have

never done anything like this before. Not many of them had a very clear idea of how it would work out, when they began it. But the motive behind the campaign was one that every African, from college professor to illiterate, understood and gave complete allegiance to: freedom from the whites that ruled them.

The Union of South Africa, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, since 1948 has been under the government of Dr. Daniel F. Malan, who came to power on a platform of greater stringency in the segregation and suppression of the African and other non-white populations of the country.

The segregation and exploitation of non-whites in Africa was not, of course, a new idea: it has been going on since the penetration and conquest of Africa by Europeans in the Seventeenth Century. But in this Twentieth Century the colonial peoples in every separate quarter of the globe, especially during and since World War II, have been demanding freedom from white domination, the right to govern themselves and to benefit from their own labors and the resources of their own countries. Where they are refused, they fight, for they have had a taste of freedom and will no longer consent to be slaves, either physically, economically or socially. It is against this background that the Malan government must be looked at.

(INS)

With the continued failure of Prime Minister Malan's government to deal with the Africans' legitimate complaints, violence flared in isolated spots, though the campaign itself continued to emphasize nonviolence always.

In South Africa many whites sleep in locked and fortified houses, with guns at their sides, and never go

THE COVER

Z. K. Matthews, a quiet, friendly man in middle age, is teaching at Union Theological Seminary this year. The cloistered, almost monastic look of this walled Seminary is not as suitable a background for the man as it may at first appear, for he is from South Africa, now in turmoil, and is one of the leaders of the campaign against the oppressive laws of his native land.

At home, he is President of the Cape Province branch of the African National Congress, which is spearheading the civil disobedience campaign described in "South Africa Sows the Wind." He is head of the Department of African Studies at the University College of Fort Hare, and came here in September as Henry Luce Visiting Professor of World Christianity at Union.

out at night alone. The 2,500,000 "Europeans" elect the legislature (except for seven members—who must be white—elected separately by the non-white people); they own the mines and factories; they walk on the sidewalk while the Africans walk in the gutter, and bow and address them as "Sir."

Because they know the situation is precarious, they pass increasingly stringent laws. Non-whites are confined to reservations, which they cannot leave without a pass. They cannot leave a job without permission. They cannot own property except in the marginal sections of the country designated for them, which now comprise only 12½ per cent of the total, with the whites owning the other 87½ per cent. They cannot sit in white sections of railroad stations, buses, or trains, or use "white" writing desks in the post offices. While the whites scramble to wall themselves around with tighter laws, the non-whites are increasingly wakeful and resentful of every new device to keep them down.

The Campaign

The campaign that opened on June 26, 1952, was led by the African National Congress (largest of the protest organizations made up of Africans), the South African Indian Congress, representing the Indian population, and the Franchise Action Council, representing the Colored group, (those of mixed descent). Six of the most oppressive laws were selected specifically to be disobeyed. These include the "pass laws," which require non-Europeans to procure and carry passes or permits to enter or leave any given area, to go to a city to look for work, to go to a city for any other purpose than to look for work, to be out at night after the curfew, lodgers' and visitors' permits, and others. As many as 100,000 Africans have been arrested in a single year simply for not having the proper permits.

Also among the laws to be disobeyed is the Group Areas Act, which stipulates that each racial group lives and does business only in its own area; the Separate Registration of Voters Act, which took the Colored voters off the regular roll in the Cape Province without the constitutional two-thirds majority in Parliament; the Suppression of Communism Act, which gives the Minister of Justice arbitrary powers over the definition of communism, the deportation of persons, and the suppression of suspected newspapers, and under which all the leaders of the disobedience campaign have been arrested; and two others of purely local political and economic significance.

The campaign was carried out by successive groups of volunteers. One day they would camp in a section restricted to whites and be thrown in jail. The next day another group would disobey segregation rules in the post office, and stand in a line reserved for Europeans; when they were arrested, another group would take their place. Once the campaign had begun, there was no lack of volunteers to take the place of those before them who had been arrested.

No Outside Support

The campaign began with virtually no support from individuals or groups outside South Africa and with the misgiving or active disapproval of most of the white lib-

erals in the country. It was the first time the three groups, Africans, Indians and Coloreds, had cooperated in any significant way. Manilal Gandhi, son of the Mahatma and editor of *Indian Opinion*, expressed the fear that the campaign would not succeed, and that to undertake it with Africans who had no tradition or experience whatever in nonviolence but were fiercely involved emotionally could only result in riots and bloodshed.

But the campaign started almost decorously. On April 6, mass meetings were held thoughout South Africa, to which an estimated 100,000 people came to hear about the campaign and what they were to do. Before this, representations had been made to the government, asking that the unjust laws be repealed, and outlining plans for the nonviolent disobedience campaign that would be carried out if they were not. In reply, Dr. Malan wrote that "the Government has no intention of repealing the long-existing laws differentiating between European and Bantu." ("Bantu" is used interchangeably with "African," but actually Bantu is a language, on which the tongues of Africans south of the Sahara are based.)

On June 26, after leaders had gone through the country speaking about the campaign, the first acts of disobedience took place.

The First Arrests

The first group were arrested in Port Elizabeth at 7 A.M. They went to a railroad bridge reserved for Europeans only, and found police waiting. A brief discussion between the two groups took place. Then, singing the national hymn, "Come Back Africa," the demonstrators marched past the police and across the bridge. Police vans waited for them there, and all were taken into custody.

The same day a group of fifty volunteers, led by W. M. Sisulu, General Secretary of the African National Congress, were arrested for attempting to enter without permits a section reserved for Europeans, and were driven off, singing Congress songs, in police wagons.

More to Prison

At 11:30 that night a third group of 54 were arrested in Johannesburg for being out on the street after the curfew without permits. When accosted by police, the leader of the group replied: "We are nonviolent fighters for freedom. We are going to defy regulations that have kept our fathers in bondage."

Day after day and week after week went by, and the campaign continued nonviolent. Hundreds, then thousands, were arrested, and most sentenced to prison, while some were caned or flogged. Often, demonstrations took place at the trials of the resisters, like the one in East London in July. The South African *Daily Dispatch* reported:

"Shouting, singing and gesticulating, a crowd of several hundred followers of the African National Congress demonstrated outside the Chief Magistrate's office for more than three hours yesterday while some of their fellows in the 'defy unjust laws' campaign were being tried in the courthouse for not being in possession of night passes when found in a public street after 11 P.M.

"Although the crowd was noisy and speakers harangued them periodically, the demonstration was or-

derly and there were no incidents. . . .

"A 'highlight' of the day was when the police vans backed up to the cellblock doors to take the prisoners away for lunch. The crowd, swollen to about 500 and carrying the ANC banner, surged round each van as it was loaded and danced, sang African patriotic songs, and cheered the prisoners. . . ."

On August 26 the largest demonstration of the campaign took place in Johannesburg, outside the court where Dr. James Moroka, President of the African National Congress, and other leaders of the campaign, were being tried under the Suppression of Communism Act, which enables the government to send to prison virtually anyone who disagrees with government policy. A crowd of 2,000 jammed the courtroom, while thousands more milled in the open square outside, singing, and shouting "Africa!" and listening to speakers.

The Campaign Grows

At the beginning of the campaign, the African National Congress had about 5,000 members. A few months later it was impossible to keep track of the thousands who flocked to join it. In the Port Elizabeth area, for example, it had grown from 700 members to 21,000.

After watching the tenor of the campaign for a few months, Manilal Gandhi wrote: "I am simply amazed at the nonviolent spirit and the discipline the Africans in the present struggle are showing. No one had dreamt that they could keep so calm, cool and collected. Father's spirit seems to be watching over and guiding them."

And at the end of September a group of twenty-two well-known, white South Africans, including writer Alan Paton, four representatives in Parliament, the Bishop of Johannesburg, three other religious leaders, a former judge, and eight university lecturers or former lecturers, were moved to issue a public statement on the situation and the campaign. It read, in part: "We have watched with dismay the situation that has developed from the growth of the non-European movement of passive resistance against unjust laws. This movement clearly is no sudden impulse. It bears all the signs of careful thought and planning . . . by men who are acknowledged leaders among Africans and Indians. . . . The movement has met with very remarkable response . . . from the mass of the people . . . in these circumstances it is clear that we South Africans face a . . . challenge. . . .

"We believe that it is imperative that South Africa should now adopt a policy that will attract the support of educated, politically conscious non-Europeans by offering them a reasonable status in our common society. This can be done by a revival of the liberal tradition which prevailed for so many years . . . in the Cape colony. That tradition . . . was based on a firm principle, namely, equal rights for all civilized people, and equal opportunities for all men and women to become civilized. . . ."

The statement refers to the fact that the laws are not based, "as they should be, on tests of civilization and education, but on race or color," and urges, as an immediate short-term program, that those who desire racial peace and harmony should "concentrate on demanding the repeal of the most mischievous measures on the statute book," and names specifically the Group Areas

Act, the pass laws, and the Suppression of Communism Act in its present form. On the other hand, the statement calls on the African leaders to "recognize that it will take time and patience substantially to improve the present position," and urges them to look on complete achievement of their aims as a long-term, rather than an immediate, possibility.

Over 6,000 Arrested

By the end of October well over 6,000 non-whites had been arrested in the campaign. On most days, three or four hundred persons went to prison. Occasional clashes occurred when police broke up meetings and demonstrations, often meetings for which permission had previously been granted. Usually the police fired first, and the Africans retaliated by throwing stones, the only weapon available to them. Except for these remarkably few, purely local clashes, the campaign was nonviolent, sometimes in the face of great provocation.

In November, however, what had been feared by both sides happened: violence broke out, and spread. Mobs in the cities rioted; government buildings and others owned by Europeans were set on fire, so that night after night the sky was ablaze; people were killed —mostly Africans shot by police, but occasional white Europeans. What the results would be it was impossible to tell; whether the rioting would continue until either the government succeeded in suppressing the resisters completely and forcing them back into their previous inferior position, or the Africans, by sheer force of numbers and persistence, overwhelmed the whites or scared them out; or whether the disobedience movement could be brought back to the nonviolence its leaders intended.

In New York, Prof. Z. K. Matthews, president of the Cape Province branch of the African National Congress, issued a statement on the outbreak of violence and the attempt which he said was being made to fasten the blame for the riots on the ANC. He reiterated the determination of the leaders of the ANC to keep the campaign nonviolent, and pointed out that they had challenged the government to appoint a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the riots. When it is remembered that not a single non-white could be appointed to such a commission, he said, it should be clear that the ANC felt it had nothing to fear from such an inquiry.

Suggestions Ignored

This suggestion, even though supported by sections of the white press, and the suggestion made by other whites that a round-table discussion by African leaders and government representatives be called, were ignored by the government. Matthews suggested that *agents provocateurs* had been employed to set off violent demonstrations by the Africans, and added: "It is perhaps not without significance that these violent outbreaks should be occurring just at a time when the United Nations, in spite of the protestations of the South African delegation, is engaged in discussing various aspects of the treatment of non-whites in South Africa."

In connection with the riot in East London during which a white Catholic nun was killed, Matthews pointed out that press reports gave

the impression the trouble was precipitated by Africans who were holding an unlawful meeting and threw stones at police when called on to disperse. In fact, said Matthews, a cable from a colleague in South Africa informed him that the people were holding a religious service for which they had obtained permission, and that police had come and without inquiry ordered them to disperse. The people refused, whereupon police fired into the crowd. The Africans retaliated by throwing stones and, infuriated by the attack upon them, ran riot.

The United Nations has been debating whether to censure the South African government for its segregation and other oppressive laws, and its actions in carrying them out. Some nations favor this; while others say it is a purely internal affair, and it is not the function of the United Nations to interfere in such matters. Meanwhile, the wind that has been sown in South Africa is freshening into a whirlwind.

Noel!

A child is born.
Bombs rain like falling stars
around his infant bed.
He has no home
but his young mother's arms.
His father died,
slain that our sons might live.

Tonight we give
gifts to our children; hold them safe and warm
and sheltered from all ill.
Oh far away
the innocent blood that bought their lives is shed.
Children as dear,
as gentle as our own now burn and die.
Father in heaven, have mercy on our souls.
These were thy children too!

—Peggy Pond Church

Universal disarmament is pleasant to think about, but we must probe much deeper if we are to find ways of dealing with more than just the —

Surface Tension

By John M. Swomley, Jr.

PACIFISTS and other Americans have for years been indebted to the American Friends Service Committee, not only for its foreign relief program, but for the free platform for ideas it has provided at Institutes of International Relations, and its stimulus to peace education generally.

More recently, through the publication of three reports, the AFSC has launched a specific political program for peace that has been both praised and criticized in pacifist circles. The latest in the series, "Toward Security Through Disarmament," is a 48-page pamphlet designed to suggest solutions to the problem of disarmament and the control of atomic energy.

The first chapter, entitled "The Arms Race," stresses two thoughts: 1) "If military might alone can give us a sense of security, certainly in 1952 the United States should feel secure." The answer to present tension is not more rearmament but arms reduction. 2) World tension, symbolized in many conflicts, must be dealt with by negotiation. "Universal drastic arms reduction . . . is an effective place to begin the process."

The second chapter is an interesting 15-page summary of the areas of agreement and disagreement of Russia and America with respect to UN discussions of disarmament. Some of the value of this and subsequent chapters is lost by the failure to document sources, though the absence of footnotes may be appreciated by many.

The third chapter, "Principles and Proposals," contains the Committee's suggestions for dealing with the disarmament stalemate. There is nothing essentially new or different in this chapter from the previously published disarmament proposals of *The New Republic*, the Association of Atomic Scientists, and the National Council Against Conscription, all of which were published more than two years earlier.

The fourth and final chapter emphasizes the importance of negotiation, discusses the principles of negotiation, and advances a pro-

gram of support both for the peace-making functions of the United Nations and programs of mutual aid.

A Cautious Report

Viewed as a whole, the report is very cautious. By contrast the proposal of former Senator Tydings, then Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, for "total disarmament down to rifles," seems radical. The Quaker report dismisses total universal disarmament as not being "able to win general acceptance" and calls instead for reduction and limitations of arms. It makes one reference to reducing armed forces to the police force level, but thereafter speaks of maintaining national navies, air and land forces, and "establishing permanent and continuing inspection of all armaments, armed forces and military facilities."

The heart of the report does not lie in the technical discussion of banning atomic weapons and reducing armies. It lies in the assumptions on which the whole report is based, and is indicative of the dilemma in which many pacifists find themselves today. Wishing to be true to their pacifist testimony, yet offer a program acceptable to "realists" and politicians, they end up doing neither well. This dilemma is probably the most crucial problem confronting the pacifist movement today.

Peace through "Coexistence"

The first assumption is that real peace can be achieved through the "coexistence" of the present Russian and American power groups. This idea of coexistence is based on the assumption that "Communist and Western political patterns will each probably continue to control large parts of the world for many years to come" and that "there is enough room for accommodation to permit the two systems to continue to evolve peaceably without the surrender of basic values."

In comment on this, it should be pointed out that the two systems are not evolving peaceably, as the war in Korea, Indo-China, the coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia, and the Chinese Communist-Nationalist struggle attest. "Without the surrender of basic values" is an important phrase, but read in the context of the whole report, it appears to mean "without the surrender of the essential power interests of the two groups."

Power Appetites

This implies that if the two power groups would just get together and each recognize the other's sphere of influence, peace could be achieved. This ignores the power appetites of the great nations, including the determination of the Soviet Union to communize the world, and the equally strong determination of the United States to retain and expand its political and economic position. It ignores the moral problems involved in dividing millions of people into spheres of influence, and it ignores the revolutionary situation that exists in the world today.

For example, an agreement to coexist on the present power basis would leave unchanged the desire of North and South Korea and East and West Germany to be united. It would not change the warfare against imperialism in Indo-China, Indonesia and Malaya. The racial and anti-imperialist revolt in Africa would continue, as would the revolutions in South

America. Totalitarianism in Russia, China, Yugoslavia and Spain would remain, as would the poverty and economic inequality throughout the world.

The World Revolution

This world-wide revolutionary situation is of course related to the power struggle, for both Russia and the United States are aware of, and are attempting to control, the world revolution for their own purposes. In areas outside the Soviet orbit, Russia's aim is to encourage revolt while America is intent on placating it. In areas inside the Soviet orbit, America's policy is that of encouraging opposition, while Russia's is that of promoting respect and obedience. (The United States, for example, has appropriated a large sum of money to stimulate opposition and sabotage behind the Iron Curtain, while recent revelations of the organization by American officers of a group of "werewolves" in Germany, together with the methods to be used, produced political repercussions in West Germany.)

The United States gives economic aid to the hungry non-Communist world, chiefly for the purpose of building opposition to Communist influence and control. Russia, similarly, noting the world-wide opposition to war, is promoting a "peace-campaign" aimed at American militarism even though she permits no opposition at home to her own rearmament program.

Coexistence that implied an end to the power struggle would be impossible without more fundamental world-wide social change on which both sides could agree. Lacking such changes, each would see a threat in the other's economic or military aid to the various forces that were trying to promote or prevent revolution.

In part, the report recognizes this, and suggests that Russia and America join, through the UN, in a mutual aid program. It does not, however, suggest how to persuade Russia to abandon the strategy of using distressed areas to foster her aims, and instead to build up standards of living that would have the effect of making people less vulnerable to communism. Nor does it suggest the abandonment of the economic imperialism that is so essential to our own materialistic economy and that is so offensive to Russia and many other peoples.

Moreover, a mere agreement to coexist, or even to outlaw war, would not alter the power situation in the world unless it required the ending of the armaments race, and the transfer of rivalry from the field of military power to that of ideas and example. Otherwise each nation would continue to suspect the other's reason for maintaining armaments.

Reduction of arms alone would not suffice, nor would a pact outlawing war. Similar attempts following the First World War did not bring peace. The Kellogg-Briand Pact, though outlawing war, nevertheless made no provision for disarmament. It created the illusion of peace while maintaining the reality of preparation for war. As Lloyd George said on one occasion: "It is as if a man took the total pledge and began immediately to fill his cellar with the most potent spirits he could purchase." Coexistence on the present power assumptions is a deceptive recipe for peace in a world that needs drastic and positive action to eliminate the causes of war.

This need for positive action ought not to be dismissed as something that can await the achievement of universal disarmament. The idea that disarmament and political issues can be separated, as the report suggests when it says "*Sooner or later* some very plain talking about political issues is going to have to be done," is completely unrealistic. The feat of rearming Japan and at the same time moving toward universal disarmament is no more feasible than for a man to walk forward and backward at the same time.

Peace through Negotiation

The second assumption of the report is that peace can be achieved through negotiation. Such statements appear, for example, as that "American and Russian foreign policy had been unable to achieve peace in recent years partly owing to failure to understand the basic principles of negotiation." The basic principle of negotiation is described as seeking "a free meeting of minds, sufficiently advantageous to each so that each party will willingly execute the terms of agreement."

The difficulty the world faces today is not a result of the failure of Russia and America to negotiate or to understand how to negotiate. Such negotiations have been taking place ever since the ending of World War II. The difficulty is that neither of the two nations is prepared to abandon its power position, including the empires each has built. Each therefore has adopted the policy of "negotiating from strength." Negotiation, consequently, is looked upon as a part of the struggle to see which side can get the better of the other. This is the result of an international situation that must be dealt with by something much more fundamental than studying the technique of negotiation.

A Flexible Attitude

The Quaker report, however, does not accept this concept of negotiation. It says that negotiation from strength is not ideal negotiation and is not therefore what the report is recommending. "Negotiation requires a flexible attitude." It is "the alternative to reaching a decision by force," and the job "of the civilian branch of government."

The difficulty with this view is that all current negotiations, even though conducted by the civilian branch, are conditioned by the military power of the nations involved. Thus, Russia, Britain or any other nation negotiating with the United States about Japan would have to take into account the American military power in and near Japan.

The civilian branches of any government today look upon the military as an integral part of their nation and hence as one of the chief resources in any bargaining or negotiating. In nations like Britain, America and Russia, which place so much emphasis on "military preparedness," civilian negotiators are to a real degree the plain-clothes branch of a highly-organized military power. Their knowledge that the gun that does not have to shoot is more effective than the gun that must be shot is what makes them seem to occupy a different status from the soldier who does the actual shooting. Civilian representatives of rival military nations must of necessity function in the context of the pow-

er relations their military establishments have produced.

Another difficulty in advocating negotiation as a solution is the complexity of the problems confronting the world. For example, the Communist support given to those opposing French control of Indo-China, and the American support given to the French, could not be overlooked in any genuine negotiation between the great powers. Such conflicts in Indo-China, Malaya, Korea and elsewhere might easily lead to a general war despite apparently successful negotiation of a peace pact of Russia with Britain and America.

Real Solutions Needed

If negotiation is to mean anything in the direction of peace, it must really resolve the present power struggle in its world-wide implication. Otherwise the negotiation of one dispute simply means the transfer of the struggle to other points.

The mere advocacy of negotiation and coexistence, without the more fundamental advocacy of social change and mutual abandonment of power, is in itself illusory. It makes those who join in the chorus for negotiation believe they are working for peace when all they advocate is a technique, largely divorced from that sacrifice of power which alone could render the technique meaningful.

Still another difficulty with the advocacy of negotiation is the assumption that "there is no controversy which cannot be negotiated." Implicit also is the position that "compromise must be made in order that contending parties may come from two extremes to meet at a reasonable midway point, thus recognizing the partial validity of each position."

Such assumptions overlook the fact that there are some problems that cannot be resolved by a compromise of political interests, but only by a moral solution. There is no middle position acceptable to South African Negroes on the question of racial segregation, for example—only equality will suffice.

The "Ease" of Disarmament

The third assumption of the report is that universal disarmament is an easier and more logical way to achieve peace than is unilateral disarmament.

No one can quarrel with the desire for universal disarmament. Even those advocating unilateral disarmament think of it as a method for achieving a peaceful society in which all nations would be unarmed. But, like negotiations, universal disarmament poses serious problems.

One of these is implicit in the power and arms rivalry of nations. Efforts to achieve disarmament by agreement thus far reveal that each nation tries to strengthen its own position as over against that of other nations. The Washington Naval Disarmament Conference of 1921, one of the few "successes" in disarmament history, did result in some reduction of arms. It agreed to scrap a number of vessels and provided for tonnage replacement on a ratio of Britain—5, the United States—5, and Japan—3. But though the United States scrapped the largest number of vessels and thus seemed to have made the greatest sacrifice, it actually increased its armaments in a relative sense by achieving equality with the British, and by guaranteeing a

smaller Japanese navy without a naval race.

Similarly, Russia, even in the idealistic post-revolutionary period, operated from power assumptions. At Moscow in December, 1922, the Russians with Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia present, proposed discussion on reducing land armaments only, for in this field it was superior to the other nations represented and its proposal would have increased its relative superiority. It did not want to limit naval armaments because the great naval powers were not participating. But at Rome in 1924, where great naval powers were present, Russia, being inferior in naval strength, sought to increase its relative naval position by reducing the attacking power of foreign fleets.

Power Assumptions Basic

In the recent disarmament discussions in the United Nations, both Russia and the British-American group have proceeded on power assumptions. Russia has repeatedly sought complete atomic disarmament first, since that is the point of America's greatest strength. She has suggested only reduction of manpower, since a reduction of troops, in which she is relatively of greater strength, would result in a relative increase in power. The United States, on the other hand, refuses to accept any proposals for atomic disarmament unless it is sure that its power position will not be injured. Thus, the U.S. insists on a prior census of manpower, since that is Russia's point of greatest strength. President Truman said: "The key to this (the disarmament) plan is the proposal to find out exactly and precisely what arms and armed forces each country has. This is the first essential, on which all else depends. Unless this step is taken, no real progress can be made toward regulating and reducing armaments."

The history of efforts to achieve disarmament by agreement is one of each nation's trying to gain relative advantage for itself. It can therefore be said in general, as it was of the United States' relative naval arms gain at the Washington Naval Disarmament Conference: "This was an armaments conference, not a disarmament conference."

A Nucleus of Weapons

Another problem posed by proposals for universal disarmament is implicit in the question of whether it means total disarmament or simply reduction and limitation of armaments. If it means the latter, then each nation will keep a nucleus of weapons that can quickly be expanded when war seems to loom on the horizon. Even a reduction of arms would not end the power struggle, but would at best result in a temporary stabilization of the existing power ratio as it did in the 1920's when Britain, America and Japan agreed on a naval arms ratio. Reduction of arms would also permit the maintenance of empire and hence the continuance of war in Malaya, Indo-China, and elsewhere.

Total disarmament on the other hand would make it impossible for the great powers to maintain their ownership or control of other nations. In Russia's case, total world disarmament and thus the elimination of external enemies might jeopardize the very existence of the dictatorship. It would almost cer-

tainly break the hold Russia has on the so-called satellite states. A rule based in large part on the idea of class struggle with the capitalist West might not be able to continue if that capitalist threat were simply ideological in nature.

Similarly, what would happen to America, whose economy is so largely geared to military production and whose economy and world power position are so dependent on her military might? Or what of Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Portugal, whose colonies are maintained by their armies and navies?

In other words, total universal disarmament presupposes a willingness on the part of the nations to abandon their power position and their privileged standards of living and to accept very drastic internal as well as external or world change.

It is easy for opponents of war to suggest that atomic war has become so terrible that it is in the national self-interest for nations like Britain, America and Russia to agree to disarm. As Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick once put it, "No one wants war, but we all want the things that make for war." Paraphrasing this, we might say that everyone wants disarmament, but too many of us want more the special privileges that armaments maintain.

The Real Task

If we think in these terms, then, we realize that the task we face in working for world peace is not one of educating people to accept a political technique like negotiation or a political formula like universal disarmament, important as techniques and formulas are. The real task is one of changing the basic assumption or philosophy on which our society operates. This is another way of saying that in a world where revolt against hunger, empire, war, racial exploitation and other injustices plays such a large role, the dominant need is a philosophy of nonviolent social change. In religious terms, our motivation should not be one of hatred of war because we fear being killed, but a love of peace because we believe in brotherhood. It is this belief in brotherhood that makes it impossible for a genuinely religious person to accept the world as it is. He must believe in, and work for, social change whether or not others will agree to do so.

New Concept of Power

Specifically, this means that if disarmament (whether universal or unilateral) depends on a willingness to abandon our power position, we must win people to a new concept of power, dependent on righteousness and justice. Mere talk and propaganda will never convince other nations that we want peace and economic justice and freedom for them as well as for ourselves. Only a demonstration in terms of sacrifice of power will convince others we are sincere.

Moreover, unilateral disarmament would remove the threat we seem to be by virtue of our military strength, and thus might change the world climate from one of fear to one of increasing confidence that peace is possible. Nowhere in the Friends' report is there more than a casual allusion to unilateral action even in terms of one nation taking the initiative to reduce arms. Instead, unilateral disarmament is dismissed with the

comment that "it does not seem reasonable to expect any nation to disarm unless others do so." Although this is not explicitly put forth as the view of the author of the pamphlet, the entire stress of the program presented is based on this assumption.

In fact, disarmament by agreement only *seems* to be more feasible than disarmament by example. Each is predicated on a willingness to abandon power, which is a moral rather than a political achievement. Since the crucial issue is the moral one of persuading people to abandon power, it cannot and ought not to be conditioned by the idea implicit in disarmament by agreement: "I will be good only if you will be good."

More Realistic

Even from the standpoint of international politics it is as realistic to advocate unilateral as universal disarmament.

Salvador de Madariaga, the Secretary of the League of Nations Disarmament Commission, wrote in his book *Disarmament*:

> The fact of disarming is infinitely more useful for the peace of the world as an example, and owing to the increased facilities which it provides for the disarmament of others, than the fact of keeping armed forces would be as a help for a hypothetical case of aggression.

Although Madariaga wrote this in 1921, it has even greater meaning today. The present international situation may be described as one of permanent but as yet limited or marginal war, in which both the great power blocs are almost as afraid of having genuine peace break out as they are of having the war at this stage spread beyond control and become general and total. Thus, Dorothy Thompson suggests that a nation would do more to destroy its rivals' power position by disarming unilaterally than by increasing its armaments. She writes:

> The difficulty, to my mind, lies in the fact that advanced and highly productive economies have so far found no means of securing full employment except by building war machines. They are the modern 'pyramids'. It is patent that if tomorrow morning the Soviets announced that they were withdrawing influence from satellite countries, and urging their governments to throw the countries wide open to internal political contests and external entrance; if, further, the USSR announced that it intended totally to disarm, and invited delegations from every UN state to visit them and see the scrapping process—there would be an economic crisis of unexampled magnitude in this country. The most cosmic joke would be a nation standing rigid in armor that it did not know how to remove, with no place to go!
>
> I think the argument would work both ways. Imagine the embarrassment of the USSR if they suddenly found themselves without a formidable enemy! How could a theology like the Communist, based on the notion of unremitting struggle, survive?

Reformation Needed

No nation would disarm simply to embarrass a rival and strengthen its own power position. Nor would disarmament be a political possibility for any nation unless its people were prepared at other points to demonstrate its respect for personality and its belief in brotherhood.

Let us suppose for a moment that a religious and political reformation were to take place in some nation. Suppose, for example, that Britain or America were to repent of its participation in injustice and warfare and were to lead a new

way of life? This would require the granting of freedom and self-government to colonies, unilateral disarmament, the use of resources now spent for armaments to help build up under-developed areas, including the building of irrigation systems, soil reclamation, and other projects to eliminate poverty and hunger. There would be many other evidences of new leadership for peace and brotherhood.

A Revolutionary Change

Such a change by any nation would be a revolutionary one. It would appeal to people everywhere. The people who are hungry would see in the leadership of such a nation their hope for economic justice. The people who want freedom would find their aspirations symbolized in such a nation. And the people who want peace would find in that nation the direction they want to take. In other words, that nation would become the symbol for men everywhere of the kind of society and government they want in their own lands.

Could any other nation successfully enlist or conscript people to invade or destroy the symbol of mankind's hope for a better life? The evidence of recent history seems to indicate that it is highly unlikely. In the early days of the Soviet experiment, when millions of ordinary laboring people thought Russia was the symbol of the new society, the labor movement in many countries made it clear that it would not prepare for or participate in a war against the Soviet Union. The new society remained in the realm of propaganda; totalitarianism became a fact in Russia, and the labor movement consequently changed its position. But the first reaction was spontaneous and real, and could have been expanded if Russia had kept faith with the original dream it planted in the hearts of so many people.

Or consider the response of Englishmen to Gandhi's India and to his movement which was prepared to suffer at the hands of Englishmen but not to kill or injure in return.

Listen to the words of Emerson:

> If you had a nation of men who have risen to that height of moral cultivation that will not declare war or carry arms, for they have not so much madness left in their brains, you have a nation of lovers and benefactors, of true great and noble men. Let me know more of that nation. I shall not find them defenseless with idle hands swinging at their sides. I shall find them men full of love and honor and truth; men of an immense industry; men whose influence is felt to the ends of the earth, men whose very look and voice carry the sentence of honor and shame, and all forces yield to their energy and persuasion. When you see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation you may rest assured it will not be one that invites injury, but one, on the contrary, which has a friend in the heart of every man, even of the violent and the base; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as the asylum of the human race and has the tears and blessings of humanity.

The world can be saved from war when some nation wants peace so much that it is prepared to run the risks involved in getting out of the war system. Half-way measures that generals and prime ministers can be expected to accept, measures like reduction of armaments or a few millions in economic aid, will not be sufficient to change the pulsebeat of the world. A world caught in the throes of a revolution requires a revolutionary act to save it.

News from the Peace Front

Appeals Court Rules Out Use of Secret Documents in CO Cases

A decision that has already resulted in the dismissal of 19 cases pending against COs was handed down in late November by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (New York), composed of Justices Learned Hand, Jerome Frank, and Swan. The Court ruled that failure to make available to the applicant all the material in his Selective Service Board's file, including the FBI investigative report, and thus enabling the defendant to interrogate and possibly impeach the witnesses against him, deprived him of due process. The conviction by a lower court of Harry Gray Nugent, a CO, was reversed by the Circuit Court pursuant to this ruling.

Referring to the passage in the Selective Service law providing for "a system of selection which is fair and just," the Court stated that "a system in which selections might be made in uninformed reliance upon the recommendation of an executive officer bottomed perhaps on secret police reports, would indeed make a mockery of that high declaration of policy."

After the ruling of the Circuit Court in New York, 19 cases against COs that were pending in New York City were removed from the trial calendar.

This decision follows two in lower federal courts to the same effect, one by Judge J. Joseph Smith in Hartford, Connecticut, (see October FELLOWSHIP), and another by Judge C. C. Hincks in New Haven, Connecticut, a little later. The latter was the case of Andrew Geyer, a Jehovah's Witness, who was acquitted of a charge of refusal to submit to induction.

The Connecticut State Appeal Board had requested permission to see the FBI investigative report on Geyer, but the request was denied. The appeal board then classified Geyer I-A, as the Department of Justice had recommended. The hearing officer had recommended I-O.

Judge Hincks' opinion pointed out that the appeal board was not bound by the recommendation of the Department of Justice, and that "This clearly imports that the board shall evaluate the worth of the recommendation which is a task impossible of fulfillment unless the board has access to the entire record on which the recommendation is based."

UMT Commission Will Report in 1953

The National Security Training Commission, appointed by Congress to draw up a UMT bill, is preparing a report to be presented to Congress in January or sooner. The Defense Department and other government agencies are considering strategy to be followed then.

Unions Protest CO Rate of Pay

Several unions affiliated with the CIO have protested the low pay rates of COs assigned under the draft law to hospital work. The protests arose particularly over the situation in Alabama, where COs are paid $75 a month, in spite of assurances by National Selective Service headquarters that they favored pay at going wages for COs. The figure of $75 was set as being comparable to the cash pay of army draftees, but leaves out of account other financial benefits accruing to the soldier.

In October the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers union at its National Convention passed a resolution condemning the practice, and saying in part: "This situation is a serious threat to our fellow unionists. It is a weapon against unions being applied with the approval of representatives of the government. It reflects no credit on our democracy when we tell conscientious objectors that we recognize their freedom of conscience and then force them to serve as bludgeons against other citizens."

The Mobile (Alabama) Industrial Union Council, representing all CIO unions in Mobile County, protested also, stating that the CO is a "sort of prisoner of the United States in that he is being compelled to do something in punishment for his refusal to fight in the armed forces of the country."

The CIO Government and Civil Employees Organizing Committee was the first to protest, pointing out in September that "The CO will be expected to do the same work as the regular employee who is at a minimum rate of $185 per month. It doesn't require much imagination to picture the wholesale demotions or discharges of regular employees to benefit by that differential. . . . This is the identical issue that occasioned CIO opposition to UMT in hearings last spring."

COs In and Out of Prison

Edward A. French, a junior at Harvard, was arrested for refusal to report for induction, and released in $1,000 bail. His picture and story were carried on the front page of *The Harvard Crimson* at the time.

Charges against *Herbert Kelman* in New Haven, Connecticut, for refusing induction have been dropped.

Stanley Sydow, 22, of Lyons, Nebraska, charged with refusal to submit to induction, is basing his defense on the ground that he would be committing a war crime under the Nuremberg Principles. Fyke Farmer, FOR member, tax-refuser, and world government advocate, is his lawyer.

Clarence Lack and Kenneth Gottlieb, of the Army and Air Force respectively, were released because of their conscientious objections to serving.

Emmett Blincoe of San Francisco was sentenced on September 24 to two years in prison by Judge Michael Roche for refusing to submit to induction.

Alan Thomson, once indicted on five counts of violating the Selective Service Act, has finally been given 1-O classification. He has now married and will go to a school in Teheran, Iran, to teach.

Amos Brokaw was to be paroled

on December 9 from his third prison sentence, one under the wartime draft act and two under the present law. He had previously served 18 months in CPS.

Joel, Orin, Sid and Paul Doty, four brothers from Bruno, Minnesota, who have each recently served a sentence for refusal to register, are being processed again by their draft board, and face the possibility of another prosecution.

Nicholas Christiano, who was acquitted of violation of the draft act, is being prosecuted again, following a new order from his draft board to report for induction.

George Rogers and his son *Grady Rogers* are both serving sentences in Springfield, Missouri. George Rogers was sentenced to three years for counseling evasion, and Grady to two and a half years for refusing to report for induction.

James Lawson, one-time Vice President of the National Conference of Methodist Youth, has been granted parole and will soon go overseas for the Methodist Church.

Bill Lawson, brother of James, refused induction on May 22, and will probably be sentenced soon.

Phil Lawson, another brother, has been denied CO status and expects to refuse to comply with a notice of induction when it is sent to him.

CCCO Aims Poster at Draft Age Men

The Central Committee for COs, at 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, has recently issued a poster addressed to draft age men calling their attention to the fact that the law provides for the recognition of conscience. It reads as follows:

"The selective service law provides exemption from combat training and duty or all military duty for some conscientious objectors. If you are 'conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form' (quotation from Section 6 (j) of the draft law), and need information or other assistance,

"Write, phone or visit: Central Committe for Conscientious Objectors." The poster also gives the address and telephone number of the CCCO and has a blank space at the bottom where other organizations may insert their own name and address. The posters can be obtained at no charge for ten or less, 1c each in quantities. They are 8½ x 11 inches, and are designed to be posted in churches, Y's, offices, and other places.

National Conference On the Road

The National Conference in 1953 will be carried out by an entirely new technique. The same conference will be presented in seven different parts of the country, to enable the maximum number of FOR members to attend. An intensive examination of records from previous conferences indicated that, wherever the conference was held, the bulk of attendance was from the nearby areas, mostly within about 100 miles. This being the case, it seems logical that the same conference in seven different places would have a much larger attendance than one or two.

Two or three staff members will attend every conference. A. J. Muste and Alfred Hassler, and possibly John Swomley or Bayard Rustin, are those selected.

Jottings

Meadowlark Homestead, a rest home in Newton, Kansas, founded by FOR-member Selma Platt, was opened with a service of dedication on October 26.

* * *

President A. D. Beittel of Talladega College, an FOR member, has resigned from that position as of August 31. He and Mrs. Beittel are now in Europe for a few months.

* * *

Christmas Cards to COs in prison are permitted (and greatly appreciated by the inmates) if they are signed but nothing written on them. Get a full list from CCCO, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3.

A Moravian member of the FOR, the Rev. Ruben D. Bollman, is interested in helping to organize a Moravian Pacifist Fellowship in the FOR. Anyone interested should write to Mr. Bollman, 913 North 22 Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania, or to George Houser at the national office.

* * *

Nearly half the people of Korea are refugees, huge numbers living in indescribably bad conditions. Last June and July the usual rainy season failed, so the barley harvest was very short and is now almost gone. The rice harvest was also poor, due to lack of rain at the right time.

WANTED—A PARAGON

By this time, if all goes well, the National Council will have approved the addition of another member to the FOR Literature Department. If he had all the qualifications important to the job, he would literally be a paragon. (Or "she"—female paragons equally welcome.) As it is, those marked (*) are essential; at least some of the others desirable.

Qualifications

Good knowledge type and layout procedure* • Typing ability* • Accurate proofreader* • Enough knowledge of production procedures to carry job through from manuscript to finished leaflet, pamphlet or book* • Knowledge audio-visual techniques • Photographic ability • Copy-editing experience

Applications and recommendations cordially invited. Write

ALFRED HASSLER

21 Audubon Avenue New York 32, N. Y.

Letters

From a Japanese

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In the latest issue, I came across the letter from Helen Mears, New York, about the nature of Japanese Army, which reminded me my past experiences in Japanese Army. It might be interesting to you to learn my real experiences.

My army life started in Manchuria as a private soldier in 1943. Five of us, new college graduates, lowest rank privates, were assigned to live in a compound of those soldiers who had served more than three or four years and one time had fought in the Bataan frontier, without seeing their homes nor homeland all through their services.

They were tough, rough and sometimes even cruel in their behavior, especially when some plague arose around the vicinity of our barrack so that we could not go outside even on holidays. We were of lowest rank and so naturally all the heavy burdens came upon our shoulders. Works and duties were very often too heavy to be completed for us new soldiers and the consequences were the punishment of being beaten by the elders. Most of the soldiers were not well educated and there were quite a few ill-tempered persons and we were so often beaten without any reason except that they are of a little higher ranks or of longer careers than us.

Thus the life in Manchuria was filled up with those gloomy memories. Beating was not only for the punishment, but also for the discipline, although it was prohibited by the higher authority at that time. Very seldom officers beated soldiers, but they choosed some other means for discipline. Even sub-officers did not beat us so frequently. It was only very common among common soldiers. Especially it was pretty common throughout the "Kwanton Army," which was the special name for Japanese Army in Manchuria. Almost every day through six months until we came back to Japan for the special officers training school, we were and I was particularly so-called 'disciplined,' because I had shown to be a very unsuccessful military man. One time I was beaten until I got lost for a few days. Everytime when I was being beaten, I closed my eyes and prayed for Holy deliverance in my mind and not in a single case I blamed those who were beating me, but the existence of military powers. We were crazily taught that the severe training and discipline by punishments had made Japanese Army so strong and in good morale, though it was not the case.

There were a few sweet memories also. One of my neighbors had deep sympathy to me especially and whenever I went to bed crying in my heart after being punished so hard, he came to me giving some sweet candies or cakes which were not obtainable for us, new soldiers.

After I came back to Japan, I was never beaten in the Officers Training

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Cal.

school, nor did I beat anyone after I was appointed as a lieutenant. When I had my own company, I prohibited any kind of punishment strictly as our company regulation and eliminated the burdens of new soldiers and especially fear among the soldiers as possible as I could. Actually what I found was that soldiers' morale were elevated, works were carried out so smoothly, and finest of all, all the soldiers started to smile. When the surrender came, some of my soldiers cried, not because of the surrender, but because of the separation from their good fellow-mates and myself.

During my army-life, I saw quite a few Chinese Coolies were being beaten in Manchuria and also an American B-29 pilot who parachuted down, crucified on the corner of the main street in some big city in Japan even by crazy civilians' hands.

This is a story of Japanese Army, but it could happen in any country or by any nation, if the country had gone into some cruel war and the nation had surrendered into the hand of big military machine.

SHIGERU OAE
Lawrence, Kansas

War and Taxes

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

A number of people—some of them tax-refusing pacifists—have rather indignantly observed that while I had gone to prison rather than support war as a soldier, I did, and do, support war financially through taxes. They consider this a damning inconsistency. Indeed it is an inconsistency in a limited sense, but no more damning than my advancing, say, arteriosclerosis—which I'm against and do not consciously support—by consciously and carefully advancing my life, the indispensable condition for the disease. Apparently these critics, with their mania for absolute consistency, which Emerson dubbed the hobgoblin of little minds, would have me, in perfect opposition to arteriosclerosis, refuse to supply the advanced life condition which the disease requires to exist. I can only say that in this matter as well as that of the war-taxing State, I prefer a relative consistency with existence rather than absolute consistency with nonexistence.

For there is no doubt that the war-taxing State can for all practical purposes make the tax-refuser nonexistent, simply by placing a military levy against food, clothing and shelter.

Shall he then steal to avoid nakedness and starvation? But the food and the clothing must be replaced, subject to tax, by the original owner, so that the tax-refuser maintains the war budget even through theft. Or shall he buy a sheep from which to spin cloth and have meat? But what if the state war-taxes the sheep? Or paper, or books, or the use of the public library?

The tax-refuser, ridden by his logic, can be ridden to complete ineffectiveness for any reasonable testimony against the warring State. He would give himself to shadow and lose substance. He would close himself out of society by some stealth that would make him indistinguishable from the professional criminal or by making himself a laughing-stock who, if and when he emerges from a state of nature, wears grass pants because they are not taxed and reads no books because they are.

Thus can the warring State develop the tax-refuser's logic *reductio ad absurdum*, leaving him absolutely consistent—and futile. The tax refuser has become credible to many only because his principle has not endured the ultimate tests which reveal no reasonable means of holding it. He is futile who adopts a principle that cannot be given some credence even by an active martyrdom unto death, but that leads to the ridiculous conditions of living nonexistence.

E. R. KARR
Saline, Michigan

Books

Why Men Starve

The Geography of Hunger, by Josué de Castro. Little, Brown and Company, 1952. 337 pp., $4.50.

Two-thirds of the human race suffer from chronic hunger. . . . Of the 50 percent of the globe's soil that can be cultivated, only 10 per cent is being used. . . . These are only two of the astounding facts presented in this book by Josué de Castro, Brazilian scientist who is head of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

Country by country he takes us to the hunger areas of the globe. In each one he analyzes the culture and the economic setup, coming to the conclusion that the hunger is not due to man's inability to produce enough for all, but that men produce so little because they have so little to eat that they lack energy to work efficiently. Where life expectancy is low, as in India (26 years), a man's productive years are too few in relation to his consuming years.

He also sees low productivity as an outgrowth of economic systems that discourage production and hamper distribution. He sees systems of land ownership under which half or more of production goes to the landlord as one economic evil; he sees colonialism with its one-crop farming as another.

Over-population, he says, is a myth, and the apparent over-population of certain areas is a result, not a cause, of chronic hunger. He tells us that people in hunger regions eat very little protein, and then goes on to explain that "when diets are inadequate in protein, nature multiplies the number of offspring so as to guarantee the continuation of the species." He credits this theory to J. R. Slonaker who made experiments on rats, and found a direct relationship between protein intake and fertility.

One of the most interesting chapters is the one in which the possibilities for increasing the production of food is discussed. It is not only possible to increase the yield of land through the use of better seed, better fertilizer, and mechanization. It may soon be possible to farm the seas, to cultivate tropical and polar lands, to cultivate new species of plants for foods. He tells us that the production of synthetic food has already begun, and that man may soon synthesize chlorophyl itself, and so "open up possibilities for humanity equal to, or even greater than, the application of atomic energy."

He touches but lightly on the political and economic reforms that will be necessary before the unused lands of the earth can be used, but he does startle us with the challenge of the needless hunger of living people, and proves conclusively that if man will but use the scientific knowledge that he already has on the arable lands of the earth,

the earth will bring forth abundantly enough, and more than enough for all.

—Marian Scott Hahn

Short and Excellent

The Rise of Modern Communism, by Massimo Salvadori. Henry Holt, 1952. 118 pp., $2.00.

For a brief but comprehensive story of the rise of modern communism, this book stands alone. It is a minor miracle of sorts that so much detail and analysis could be encompassed in so small a space. Nevertheless the style is clear and readable. The book is useful as a reference, and extremely valuable as a short course on communism.

Salvadori traces the development of modern communism through its early origins, the struggles of socialist movements in Europe before World War I, then the Russian Revolution with its dreams of world revolution. Then comes the period of retreat and consolidation from 1923 to the early 30's. With the rise of fascism emerges the phase of the Popular Fronts, followed by neutrality (during the Hitler-Stalin Pact) and finally World War II. The period since 1945 is more familiar, but it is helpful to see the pattern in perspective.

There are several valuable summaries at points throughout the book: the main tenets of early Marxian socialism, the principal doctrines of Lenin, 22 major points of Communist ideology. An annotated bibliography at the end is quite helpful.

The author adheres in the main to description and analysis, but one of his predictions is quite suggestive. "The qualities leading to suc-

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cess in a non-Communist world are not the same as those leading to success within a Communist society which demands servility, blind obedience and absolute conformity. . . . It is possible that, as time goes on, the quality of leadership of the Communist societies will gradually deteriorate. Because in a totalitarian structure the impulse to action can only come from those who monopolize political power, their deterioration is likely to be reflected, in the long run, in the deterioration of Communist institutions." "Once communism is on its own, the strength it derives from the defects of non-Communist societies disappears." The crusader gives way to the bureaucrat, and his dynamic diminishes. That society becomes vulnerable to a new dynamic.

Since one's analysis of the nature of communism and its role in world affairs is so basic to one's political orientation these days, this book can be an invaluable contribution to such an objective understanding.

—Charles Walker

Love and Loneliness

The Long Loneliness, by Dorothy Day. Harper and Brothers, 1952. 286 pp., $3.50.

Fascinating in itself, this autobiography will appeal especially to Fellowship members, since Miss Day in the past thirty years has been involved in so many causes in which we also have been interested.

Daughter of a newspaper man who had financial ups and downs, and of a remarkable mother, Miss Day was very devout in her youth. Later her sympathy led her into atheism because of the apathy of the churches toward social conditions, an apathy she still deplores. Originally an Episcopalian, she turned more and more to Catholicism until, shortly after the birth of her daughter, she joined the Roman Catholic Church, though that action meant breaking with the child's father.

One of the founders of the Catholic Worker movement, she is still its mainstay and spirit. Besides their newspaper, this group runs rescue homes where anyone who comes is fed and cared for with no questions asked.

Written by a trained journalist the book is easy to read, the expressions are happy, often poetical. Through her work Miss Day has found her answer to the "long loneliness" which is within each of us: "We have all known the long loneliness and we have learned that the only solution is love and that love comes with community."

—Ruth McK. Moore

Pamphlet Parade

Promise of Deliverance, by Dan Wilson. Pendle Hill, 1951. 32 pp., 35c.

Perceived in this beautiful meditation is the idea that it is the need of deliverance that yields the power of creation among the created, and that that power, unconfined by legal morality, contains the promise of deliverance.

Reaching Decisions, by Howard H. Brinton. Pendle Hill, 1952. 30 pp., 35c.

Here is a simple and sensitive account of Quakerism: how it grew and how it functions.

—Robert Currier

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